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WHATEVER sincere doubts Americans may have had as to the wisdom of the President's attending the peace conference, should be dispelled by the record of the President's reception in France. The French people have found an occasion for an immense release of sentiments of friendship towards America. The French and the American nations have thereby been made more acutely conscious of their fundamental fellow feeling, in the future as well as in the recent past. It is to be anticipated that, as the formal negotiations of the peace conference proceed, we shall hear less of agreement and more of dissension between the nations. The voices of politicians clamoring for the satisfaction of nationalistic and partisan and class aspirations will be heard above the murmurs of world brotherhood. But the politicians will recognize that in a world in which popular feeling is so alive as has been demonstrated in the reception accorded to the President, it will be well to place a curb upon selfish aspirations. If the diplomats are too shortsighted to make a just and stable peace, the peoples are capable of taking the work into their own hands.

PRESIDENT POINCARÉ'S address most adroitly raised the points in which the views of the French representatives may oppose those of the American, while keeping them in apparent subordination to the points in which the nations are at one. President Poincaré intimated that he was not overconfident in the ability of the nations to abolish war. Therefore he looks to a peace settlement that will inflict exemplary punishment and make further aggression on the part of Germany impossible. He does not speak of strategic frontiers, punitive indemnities, commercial boycotts. But there is room for all of these under the French President's moderate phrases. But President Wilson was equally adroit in his reply. He accepts the justice of imposing punishment upon those who have been responsible for acts of terror and spoliation. But the peace of the world, the President intimated, is to be secured, not by the character of the peace treaty alone but "by the constant association and cooperation of friends." Under President Wilson's moderate phrases, peace through the organization of a league of nations appears as clearly as peace by power appears under the phrases of President Poincaré.

MR. McADOO'S recommendation of a five years' experiment of unified governmental operation of railways appears reasonably fair to all concerned. The interests of the railway stockholders and bondholders would probably be safer under an extension of the existing agreement than they would be under such arrangements for the return of the railways as are at present politically practicable. So far as we know, very few railway men would care to have the railways returned to private control without a thorough revision of the system of governmental control. But such a revision is sure to encounter tremendous popular opposition if put through before all the rights and wrongs of the case have been thoroughly aired, in Congress and outside of it. A five year period would give full opportunity for making the matter clear to the whole people, and for devising a new system, fair

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to both the railways and the public, under which the railways may be returned. But perhaps they will never be returned? That is indeed a contingency to be taken into account. If the government proves able to run the railways efficiently for five years, the demand for public ownership may become irresistible. If the government manages the railways as badly as the railway men prognosticate, the five year experiment will put a final quietus upon the agitation for public ownership.

THERE is at least one body of Christians who are not in a time of sore moral temptation joining the cry for revenge. The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church has issued a Peace Message which, if it could be read on Christmas from every pulpit might break down some of the barriers which now separate so many professing Christians from Christ. It begins by calling on all thoughtful men in the solemn hour of victory to turn away from the past and towards the future. Civilization, having just been saved from the menace of military autocracy, must now be saved from no less dangerous internal perils. It is a time for "vigilance and prayer." "For the conditions which resulted in the great catastrophe no nation is entirely blameless and all may share repentance." Penitence should be crystallized in the resolution to secure at any sacrifice "a new world order where mutual distrust, imperialistic ambition, exploitation of backward peoples, competition for markets should be replaced by international comity and cooperation." The treatment of the Central Powers after the war should "aim rather at reformation than at retribution." The treatment of the problems of domestic reconstruction should seek to plough up the roots of the unsocialism and the improperty, which furnish the great threat to civilization. The Commission "earnestly urges the Church at large to study the programme of the British Labor Party, characterized by Bishop Brent 'as the one great religious utterance of the war.'" The four pillars of this programme, that is, the guaranty to all members of the community of the essentials of healthy life and worthy citizenship, democratic control of industry, a revolution in national finance in the interest of the less favored classes and the surplus wealth for the common good are endorsed as the probable "bases for reconstruction policies in many countries." The commission follows the Bishop of Oxford in favoring "property for use," and in deploring "property for power." If Christians fail to seek in the spirit and message of Christ the cure for social maladies, the needed changes are likely to be accomplished not by "general consent" but by "revolutionary methods."

INDEMNITIES for damage to shipping inflicted by the naval forces of the Central Powers is complicated by the difficulty of determining to whom the money shall be paid. Assume that an American ship carrying grain to Sweden was torpedoed by a German submarine, and that the German government has paid for the loss. Shall the money go to the owner of the ship? Unless extraordinarily negligent, he had taken out war risk insurance, and has already been paid the full value of the ship by the insurance company. Shall it go to the insurance company which paid the loss? This would be manifestly unjust, since the company has received premiums from shipowners which have much more than made up the loss. Why not then refund out of the indemnity the war risk premiums which the shipowner has had to pay? But the shipowner is hardly entitled to this, for he has already compelled the owner of the cargo to pay a freight rate which covered all his expenses including war risk premiums, and a fat profit besides. Shall the money be paid, then, to the Swedish exporter of grain, to make up for the fantastic freight rate that was forced upon him? Assuming that the generosity of our statesmen extends to Sweden, even this will not be pursuing the matter far enough, for the Swedish grain importer has already prudently included the high freight rate in the price of flour, and passed it on, via the retail dealer, to the bread eaters of Sweden. The truth is that, excepting sporadic cases of loss in trades not yet adjusted to war conditions, damage inflicted on commercial property by enemy action has already been distributed so widely throughout the commercial fabric of the world that any attempt to trace its incidence to individual persons will be futile. The community has suffered the loss, not the person on whom it happened in the first instance to fall. Any compensation made by the Central Powers should be paid to the government, to be used to make good the loss which the nation as a whole has suffered. Any other course will lead to an unseemly scramble among rival claimants, and to the unjust enrichment of the most successful.

WITH the resignation of Fremont Older as managing editor, the San Francisco Bulletin, long our foremost liberal advocate on the Pacific coast, seems in the one transaction to have lost its head completely and sold its soul to the Chamber of Commerce. Greeting the President's message before Congress as an admission from his own lips that the fourteen points and all business and social reforms to which he has pledged himself were mere tools of strategy, to be discarded now that the war is won, the Bulletin welcomes the President back to the fold of one hundred per cent

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Americans who have no use for "impractical idealism," and "Utopian reform." In other words we begin again where the war interrupted us, setting aside our gains and knuckling down to the old "tried and true course of unrestrained competition." "And who," the editorial continues, "will deny that it was a pretty good old world after all, leaving out of account a few agitators and kickers?"

CONCRETE shipbuilding is still beset with unsolved problems; yet it would be difficult to point to any other industry that has made so promising a beginning. The Faith, whose construction evoked the laughter of the incredulous, has made her way from the Pacific to New York, with many thousands of profitable freight miles behind her. She may be heavy and ungainly, but she has borne the stresses of weather well. We have yet to hear complaints from the men who risked their capital in her. Apparently she pays. And now a second large concrete ship, the Atlantus, has been launched from a Georgia yard. In design and construction the Atlantus represents a great advance over the Faith. The new ship is light, as compared with ships of wood or steel of equal capacity, and she is beautiful, which probably doesn't matter. She was intended to cost less than a wood or steel ship, but the Emergency Fleet Corporation used her to work out all manner of technical problems whose solution is a necessary first step toward a prosperous development of concrete shipbuilding. It is too early to forecast that development, but no one who has observed recent progress will affirm that the monopoly of the steel ship is secure. We may yet live to see the oceans dotted over with stone tubs.

DOING justice generally at the expense of Germany is an idea so popular nowadays that there is even a measureable current of opinion in favor of returning Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark. This would diminish Germany's population by a million and a half, and what is much more important, it would place the Kiel Canal in neutral hands. That canal, like our Panama Canal, was of vast potential naval value in the period of competitive armaments. Without the Kiel Canal Germany would have been compelled to maintain two fleets, one in the Baltic and one in the North Sea; just as, without the Panama Canal, we should sooner or later have been compelled to maintain a fleet in the Atlantic and another in the Pacific. It is therefore quite natural that statesmen seeking a means to keep Germany permanently weak should consider seriously all possible methods of depriving her of the Kiel Canal. But before accepting the plan of returning Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark, it may be worth while to inquire into the wishes of the Danes. Do they want to become guardians of the Kiel Canal? No more than a sensible citizen living among thugs wants to wear a priceless diamond. If ever there should be another European war, Germany would strike for the Kiel Canal, first of all. Denmark would be the next Belgium. And to what end? The greater part of Schleswig-Holstein is German, not Danish. If the duchies were annexed to Denmark, there would be two Germans under the Danish flag to every seven Danes. That is a kind of national adulteration no people gifted with common sense would desire. Denmark wishes nothing but the return of the Danish section of Schleswig, and even this she does not want unless the population immediately affected desires it. If the nations want the Kiel Canal taken away from Germany they will have to find some other victim to hold it.

THAT there is a "reign of terror" in Russia nobody disputes. A great many persons are being done to death, some of them on very flimsy charges. The Bolsheviki are killing not only counter-revolutionists, but also traitors, grafters and common thieves and robbers, and the aggregate of executions must be appallingly great. Whether it is so great as that of the French revolution nobody knows as yet. All the avenues of information have been at the disposal of the enemies of the Bolsheviki, who have been equally generous in their allocation of space to reporters who have seen things by day and reporters who see things by night. The truth is hopelessly beclouded in propaganda and lying. But of one thing we may be absolutely certain. For every person who will have perished at the hands of the revolutionary tribunals, a hundred will have perished by starvation. And America and her Allies have not only done nothing to relieve the menace of famine, but they have actually looked upon it with a certain grim satisfaction, believing that famine would lead to the overthrow of the Bolsheviki. We may have excellent political and economic reasons for hating the Bolsheviki. But so long as we admit mass starvation into our tactics, let us not make too prominent a point of our humanitarian objection to their policy.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM C. GORGAS, redeemer of the American tropics from the curse of yellow fever, is the next candidate for a place on Mr. Ralph Easley's little list. If Mr. Easley can not charge General Gorgas with pro-Germanism, he can at least point to evidence of Bolshevism. Speaking of the evils of overcrowding the General has declared: "In practice we are now putting into effect the most important sanitary

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measure for the correction of this evil. I refer to the increase in wages that has occurred all over the United States. My experience has taught me that increase in wages of a community is the most important measure that can be taken for the correction of overcrowding." General Gorgas was dealing only incidentally with the effects of increased wages. Else he might have committed himself to the doctrine that increase in wages would also prove the most important measure that can be taken for the correction of the evils of tuberculosis, excessive infant mortality, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, anarchism and an indefinite array of other afflictions that Mr. Easley would exorcize by incantations pronounced over the Civic Federation's overloaded dinner tables.

IT is good in these days of poignant uncertainty and passionate conflict to come across words of ripe and serene wisdom touching the ever-recurrent fundamental issues of life, yet not devoid of shrewd applications to the more immediate business of our daily job. This the reader will find in a short but most weighty article on Natural Law by Justice Holmes, in the last number of the Harvard Law Review. A veteran of the Civil War, Justice Holmes is today the most distinguished representative of the older liberalism that valued both intellectual freedom and courage, that fought valiantly for its convictions yet not without tolerance or the chivalric courtesy due to foemen worthy of our steel. We cannot undertake to give an account of an article every paragraph of which is compact with many thoughts; but we may indicate the scope and the manner by quoting the first and last sentences: "It is not enough for the knight of romance that you agree that his lady is a very nice girl—if you do not admit that she is the best that God ever made or will make, you must fight." "Philosophy does not furnish motives, but it shows men that they are not fools for doing what they already want to do. It opens to the forlorn hopes on which we throw ourselves away, the vista of the farthest stretch of human thought, the chords of a harmony that breathes from the unknown."

WE note with profound regret the untimely death of Prof. Hohfeld of the Yale Law School. Prof. Hohfeld was one of the very small number of scholars working in this country for the transformation of our law in accordance with modern scientific standards. Although a very young man, he had made notable and promising contributions in the direction of clarifying legal ideas; and his address a few years ago before the American Association of Law Schools, on a Vital School of Jurisprudence, was a powerful call to our Universities to realize their responsibilities in the matter of legal education, to teach law not as a trade or preparation for the art of winning cases, but as a science in the service of public needs. We understand that previous to our entry into the war Yale University was making certain plans for the establishment of such a school of jurisprudence, and in calling Professors Cook, Borchard and Lorenzen it took a needed step for gathering a proper faculty for such a purpose. It is to be hoped that Yale University will find means to develop the original plans along this line.

The Greatest of These

IF there was ever a day since the advent of Christianity on which Christians had reason to kneel before the image of Jesus and pray for a second coming, it is the Christmas of 1918. Christians need the Christian spirit as they have not needed it since they were killing one another during the religious wars in the name of Christ. They need it for their own integrity of mind and for their own personal salvation. They need it in their transactions one with another, no matter whether those transactions concern peace among nations or peace within nations. Christian faith and Christian works can render to mankind a unique service in a moment of sore distress, of imminent danger, of momentous decision. The new birth of order and the new birth of freedom hangs dubious and tremulous on the new birth of Christ.

The most destructive and the most tragic war in history has come to an end. All the larger warring nations, the United States excepted, emerge from the furnace stricken and impoverished. Their means of subsistence is imperilled, their commerce and manufactures undermined, their accumulation of capital and machinery and tools wasted away, their institutions strained to the breaking point, their younger men maimed or killed and their spirits bruised and bleeding. There may have been previous wars which levied on their victims a greater comparative penalty of immediate suffering and loss. But there has been no previous war which has brought upon the fortunes and lives of both victors and vanquished such an avalanche of ominous consequences. The starvation, the anarchy and the bankruptcy which are now threatening Europe may in the end frustrate and sterilize more human lives, arouse more enduring hatreds, work results more menacing to the future of civilization than the war itself. Although the fighting is over there is no peace in the world, little confidence in one another or in the future, little common understanding and good will. Reconstruction depends upon reunion and there is no living impulse to reunite.

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The obstacles to reunion no less than the need of reunion are themselves born of the war. They turn on the desire to fix exclusive responsibility for the outbreak of the war, for its ruthless devastation and for its demoralizing reactions. The victors propose to fix the responsibility exclusively on the vanquished, to put in a colossal bill of damages and to deduce from the inability of the vanquished to pay the justice of future discrimination. The revolutionary socialists fix the responsibility on the property-owning class, and they deduce from their indictment the need of immediately dispossessing the property owners, of disenfranchising and, if necessary, killing all who oppose this drastic purging. The ruling classes not only regard this theory with abhorrence, as is quite natural, but they transfer their abhorrence of the doctrine to the people who practice and expound it; and they propose to use against its perpetrators the time-honored methods of persecution and extermination. All these factions are trying to keep the war alive by keeping alive the right to fasten the entire blame for it and its ensuing calamities on particular nations and classes. They reject reunion without additional bloodshed, retaliation, punishment and social surgery. The survivors from the war are more divided by its causes and penalties than they are united by community of failure, danger, suffering or aspiration. They are all proposing to visit on one another precisely the kind of treatment, which if it were done to them, they would most bitterly and justifiably resent.

It is a perverse and fatal error. Reparation there must be, but reparation should not be made the excuse for irreparable future schisms. Unless the Christian peoples recognize a common responsibility for the calamities of the war deeper than the specific responsibility of any one nation or any one class, unless they consciously emancipate themselves from the dead hand of their material and moral liabilities and credits, unless they permit a healing compassion for the faults and miseries of mankind to take possession of their souls and dominate their actions, their future, like their past, will be chiefly a tragedy of frustration and irremediable moral conflict. It is not only Germany that cannot meet her liabilities. It is not only capitalism which has proved itself socially sterile. It is not only the proletarian republic that demands a life for a life. The bankruptcy is general. It is not confined to any one nation, to any one class, to any one institution, to any one living philosophy. Neither nationalism nor nations, capitalism or capitalists, socialism nor socialists can pay their just debts. The attempt to assess too much of the penalty on one class or one nation will only increase the disaster of the ultimate defalcation. The plain fact is that during the years previous to the war the social liabilities, which the western nations had incurred as a consequence of the industrial revolution, of their increased mechanical competence and economic inter-dependence, enormously exceeded their assets in political organization, in social method, in democratic aspirations and in religious faith. Any severe strain upon their credit was bound to expose to the world how much they had issued of irredeemable social currency and how great the need was of accumulating against the day of redemption a larger reserve of socially precious metals. The war with its ensuing burden of wasted effort and mutilated lives and its ensuing menace of moral anarchy and irreconcilable social dissension is the revelation and proof of this antecedent and general bankruptcy. All our modern progress has not saved us, individually and collectively, from remaining miserable sinners. There can be no sufficient union or reunion without a common sense of sin, without a willingness to repent and without faith in the saving virtue of a resurrection of the Christ in man.

Before and during the war the religion of Christ, as practiced by the enormous majority of professing Christians both lay and clerical, did nothing to diminish this social bankruptcy. The Christian faith is, of course, always a source of consolation and fortitude to suffering human beings, but the sufferers from the recent war need a religion which will give them something more than consolation and fortitude. They need, above all, deliverance. Christianity as understood and exemplified by Christians does not offer the remotest hope of delivering mankind from the body of this death. They had and have no sufficient apprehension of the danger to the human spirit of the concentration of such enormous authority in the hands of irresponsible classes and states. They permitted the subordination of religious to political authority, and then connived at the capture of political authority by anti-social or semi-social interests. They consented to the ruthless secularization of all human activities. They have had no conviction of their social sins. They have had little effective aspirations for social deliverance. When the war came the Christian peoples straightway renounced the typically Christian feelings and virtues. If there is one respect in which Christianity differs from other religions it is in its incompatibility with the spirit of hatred and revenge, its association of justice with mercy, its distinction between the sin and the sinner, and the subordination through the doctrine of vicarious atonement of the obligation to punish sin to the obligation of redeeming the sinner. The behavior and utterances of Christians and usually of Christian ministers revealed only the smallest belief in

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these typically Christian feelings and virtues. They not only themselves worshipped a tribal God of wrath and vengeance, but they shared in the persecution and abuse of those who sought to keep alive some remnants of the spirit of Christian charity, who insisted on the need and clung to the hope of ultimate reconciliation.

As long as the fighting lasted there was much excuse for the inability of the great majority of Christians to serve two masters. Not many people are capable of combining an invincible determination to resist oppression with the Christian conviction that the oppressor knew not what he did and that he too has a claim to be saved. But now the fighting is over there is no such excuse. Christians who have lifted the veil and looked into the face of Christ must believe that the imitation of Christ is precisely and entirely what the Christian peoples need to deliver them from the bondage of their bankrupt social economy, from the least tolerable of their present sufferings and from the dread of impending calamity. They must believe that the crucifixion of Christ, His resurrection and His assumption of the burden of sin dramatize a process of redemption which should be as salutary for society, as it is for individual men and women. The doctrine of vicarious atonement is for Christians the only route of escape from the Mosaic law with its eye for eye and tooth for a tooth—a law from which no people can escape who worship fearfully a tribal God of wrath and punishment. Jehovah and his like were only the incarnation of the police power just as Christ is the incarnation of the spirit in man which seeks to save mankind by removing the obstacles to its own self-regeneration. Those who imitate Christ place their faith in human perfectibility. They act as if suffering and sin bound human beings together rather than divided them. Such a bond is not destroyed by the infliction of penalties on wrongdoers, but it would be destroyed if in the infliction of penalties the judge ignored the humanity of the sinner and his imperishable title to redemption. The faith in a brotherhood in salvation practiced by those who imitate Christ begins in a sense of brotherhood in sin. It flowers in a conviction that by accepting a common liability to sin and error, we may help one another to a common release from its burdens.

There is nothing in modern social knowledge which discourages us from seeking individual and social deliverance through the imitation of Christ. On the contrary, modern psychology, modern penology and modern education all recommend a way of enhancing human life which seeks to release men and women from fears, hatreds, suspicions, greeds and debts to their own past. They agree upon the fruitfulness of the union which may result from a common conviction of ignorance and imperfection, from common tasks of hard but exhilarating creative labor. Never have the practices of Christianity enjoyed so good a chance of meeting actual and indispensable human needs. If only a sufficient number of Christians will place at the disposal of the imitation of Christ the same amount of initiative, intelligence, skill and determination which so many nominal Christians have placed at the disposal of selfish class purposes and of the passion for power, the balance between the social liabilities and the social resources of modern nations would soon show a credit on the right side. The time has come when the work of successfully building up a sincerely Christian community is only awaiting the coming of sufficiently sincere, alert, knowing and devoted Christians. The Christian community cannot be built up now any more than it has been in the past, by propaganda, by tempering the acceptance of social abuses with philanthropy, by sectarianisms or by tamely submitting to the moral sovereignty of the state. The structure must spring from a deeper dissatisfaction with what we are, from a more complete compassion for human failings, and an incorruptible conviction in the dependence of human fulfilment upon human brotherhood. It must spring, that is, from a sufficiency of faith which will bring with it a sufficiency of charity and love.

"Dissensions Among the Allies"

WE are beginning to hear intimations of dissension among the Allies over the terms of the final peace contract. We shall presently hear much more on the subject. It will be reported that England wants this, but France insists on that. America will be represented as earnestly urging one thing, but finding England lukewarm, France cynical, Italy hostile. These are phrases. They are part of the jargon of the old diplomacy, which consistently accepted the duly constituted authorities of the moment as the nation itself. Those phrases had a real content during the war, when the common perils could be met only by complete national unity behind the constituted authorities. When President Wilson threatened Germany with force without stint, it was possible to say, without distorting the facts, that the will of all loyal Americans was finding expression. When Lloyd George thrust aside all thought of compromise, England was speaking. But the national unity of will called into being by war dissolves when the peril lifts. Wilson speaks today not for all Americans, including Senator Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, but for those

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Americans who are like minded with himself. True, the agreements with other nations entered upon by our peace delegation and ratified by our Senate will be binding upon us all. But while the negotiations are in progress each citizen has a right to his own mind about them. There is neither reason nor utility in assuming a unity that does not exist.

France does not disagree with America about the League of Nations. There is a political group in France that regards a League of Nations as a utopian dream and that seeks to carry away the maximum number of birds in hand, in the shape of annexations and indemnities, regardless of the extent to which such action may prejudice the fortunes of the League. There is a political group in America that heartily approves of this disposition of the problem of peace. There is another American group that would subordinate everything to the establishment of a League; and nowhere are there more loyal adherents of this policy than in France. It is not Italy that desires to possess herself of all the Jugo-Slav territories granted to her by the Allies in the secret treaty of London, but the political group headed by Sonnino. Italy does not lack leaders who are in full sympathy with all legitimate Jugo-Slav aspirations. Not France and England, but French and English militarists look forward eagerly to the time when they shall be able "to restore order in Russia." The Soviet Republic has innumerable friends in every Allied country.

The truth is that the stage so recently cleared of war has now become occupied by a political struggle, the most momentous in history. It is a political struggle not between nations but between parties whose constituency transcends all national boundaries. The progressive wings of the American parties, British labor and liberals, French and Italian and Belgian liberals and socialists are for the purposes of the peace conference one party. The Lodges and Milners and Carsons and Clemenceaus and Sonninos and their following of imperialists and militarists and protectionists constitute the opposing party. Chance has decreed that the liberal party shall dominate the delegation of one country while the reactionary party dominates that of another country. Thus it may happen that the votes of the French delegation fall on one side, those of the American delegation on the other. But that does not justify us in saying that the "French view" opposes the "American view."

But why should international partisan cleavages develop in the act of imposing peace upon an enemy all parties in all nations joined in overthrowing? One would punish Germany more, another less, but what does this difference amount to among friends? It is not what the peace congress may do to Germany that stirs the party spirit within the Allied nations. It is what the peace congress may do to the Allied nations. For better or for worse that conference will exert influence upon the political affairs of every Allied state. It may prepare the way for international goodwill, or it may perpetuate the rancors of the war. It may establish the basis for an international cooperative commonwealth or it may sow the seeds of a new growth of world-power ambitions. It may facilitate the orderly progress of the nations towards more complete democracy, or it may present the alternatives of Bolshevism or reaction. Shall America create the greatest navy in the world? Shall we institute universal military service? Shall we set about making ourselves as nearly as possible self-sufficient industrially, at the cost of our foreign trade? Shall we place a damper upon personal liberty and individual initiative with a view to making ourselves more fit for war? It depends on the final dispositions of the peace congress.

The struggle of parties in the peace congress and outside of it does not turn upon differences of opinion as to how best to inaugurate the kind of world order upon whose desirability all are agreed. It turns upon differences of opinion as to what kind of world order is desirable. Those differences are not of a nationalistic character at all. The democratic interests of America, England, France and Italy are one. If they prevail in the peace congress we may properly say that democracy has triumphed over reaction, not that America has won and that some of the Allies have lost.

Pivotal Germany

ACCORDING to reports from Germany the cleavage between the government and the revolutionary Socialists has widened, street fighting has become common and the revolutionary groups now hold several of the suburbs of Berlin, which they defend with the aid of machine guns. The almost hopeless economic situation favors the extremists. Coal and food are scarce, raw materials are depleted, and transportation is hampered by lack of rolling stock. It is feared, both in Germany and in the Allied countries, that these economic difficulties may lead during demobilization to a successful *coup d'état* by the revolutionists, which in turn will mean a dictatorship of the proletariat, a reign of terror, and complete disintegration and chaos. Germany, it is prophesied, will go the way of Russia.

Do these predictions, however, take into account all the facts of the case? Russia today is probably more coherent than is commonly believed, and in any case Germany is not Russia. In the matter of cohesion Germany is as different from Russia as

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France is a country different from Turkey.

Consider some of these differences that favor German cohesion. Germany is a small, compact country whereas Russia is a vast and thinly populated territory. Germans live close together and have lived close together for centuries. They are accustomed to cooperation. They speak the same language whereas the people of Russia speak many tongues. The Germans are of one race. Their civilization is old, much older than that of the Russians, and their traditions are firmer. They are more highly industrialized, which means that they have a more complex and integrated national economy. They have more cities, great and small; they have a larger middle class; they have a far more elastic and effective system of communication both for goods and ideas. The Germans are much more widely educated than are the Russians and their education is more concrete and practical. The Germans are more disciplined, they are more accustomed to a long established order which has not been entirely imposed from above but rests in large measure upon their own acquiescence and approval. Finally the Germans have had a better training in self-government. Not only have they organized vast political parties, trade unions, employers' associations and cooperative societies but they have had a fairly long and intensive training in political life, both theoretically and practically. They are more nationalistic than the Russians, more nationally self-conscious. Germany, in short, is a more highly unified, integrated, capitalized, industrialized, intelligent and disciplined community than Russia and is less easily thrown out of gear. Seize a few cities in Russia and the country relapses into little village communities living a village life. In Germany the centripetal forces are stronger. Each part of Germany is dependent upon other parts and the whole is dependent, economically, upon the outside world. The forces making for unity, cohesion and orderly commerce with foreign lands are therefore immensely strong.

These forces making for cohesion favor the existing government, which is in the main a conservative-Socialist administration intended to hold the country together. Its object is to give bread and work to the people, to make a peace that will not be too onerous, to eliminate the leaders who were most closely identified with Germany's old policy of aggression and to begin the work of reconstruction. The government is not primarily interested in abolishing capitalism, destroying the wage-system and changing the bases of German society, although all that may come later. Its function is nationalist rather than proletarian; it is more concerned, for the time at least, with uniting the nation than with any internal revolution.

To these moderate Socialists and their political allies, still in control at Berlin, an intensification of the class struggle at this moment seems very hazardous. If the proletariat gains full control, as at Moscow, the German propertied classes will resist and play into the hands of Germany's enemies. A dictatorship of the proletariat might mean the secession of Bavaria, Baden, Würtemburg and other states and the break-up of Germany. It would surely involve Allied intervention. The Allies cannot make a treaty unless there is a responsible government with which to make it. If no such government exists the Allies will create one, even if it requires a prolonged policing of the whole country. Finally, Germany does not wish to starve. She fears that she will starve unless she can import food as well as raw materials for the manufacture of exportable goods with which to buy food. For all of this she requires the good will of her former enemies.

There is, however, another group in Germany, consisting of minority Socialists, whom these arguments do not convince. The reason is not far to seek. While the present government strives for cohesion in the interest of the German republic, the revolutionary Socialists are concerned less with Germany than with a world revolution. They are willing to wait for German rehabilitation, if by waiting they can hasten a class struggle which will end with a world victory for the working class. These revolutionists are absolute and uncompromising in their philosophy; they believe in catastrophe as the great motive force of change, and the war has reinforced them in this faith in catastrophe. They do not fear temporary chaos. Welcome chaos with the hope of a world proletarian victory rather than acquiesce in the perpetuation under new forms of the old system of class domination.

We shall not understand the situation in Germany nor the real problems of American and Allied diplomacy unless we seek to grasp what these revolutionary Socialists are thinking, instead of imputing to them our own sober thoughts. Western liberals want order in Germany, order, quiet, submission, reparation and rehabilitation; they wish to send food and raw materials there in order that the Germans may again start up industries and work off their obligations. In this policy the German revolutionary Socialists are not interested.

These revolutionists believe that the class war can now be won and they conceive this war as the only significant and fruitful war. They are willing to shed blood for a proletarian control. They do not fear a secession of South Germany for in the long run, they believe, the Bavarian wage-earners will carry out their own revolution and will then return to the German fold. If they do not return

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what difference will it make in a society of nations living in bonds of fraternity? The restoration of order and the peaceful payment of a huge indemnity is not an attractive programme to these revolutionists, and they do not intend to accept liabilities for huge debts which they feel that their former masters and oppressors and not they themselves have incurred. Nor do they greatly fear Allied intervention. What could be better from the point of view of a proletarian internationalism than an attempt by British and French capitalists to collect by force of arms an annual tribute from German working-men? Germany, they believe, would be no worse off if French capitalists taxed them directly than if their own capitalists taxed them for the benefit of the French, and in the former case the French invaders must shoulder the responsibility of feeding the German people, of keeping them at work, of preventing strikes and of producing goods to pay the indemnity, which goods will compete most ruinously with the goods of the western lands receiving the indemnity. Even if matters were made worse by a proletarian revolution, moreover, it would matter little, if only it brought nearer the inevitable catastrophe, the downfall of capitalism throughout the world.

A control of Germany by the revolutionists would enable them to exert an enormous influence upon foreign countries. Germany today is pivotal, since Russia is already controlled by the Bolsheviki who desire a world revolution and all eastern Europe is on the verge of famine. Everywhere are incipient conflicts between nations, between Poland and the Ukraine, Italy and Jugo-Slavia, Italy and Greece, Greece and Serbia. The food situation even in the western countries is bad and the problems of demobilization are menacing. In Italy, in France, even in England, there are powerful elements to whom the social revolutionists of Germany could appeal.

The issue for Germany and for the rest of the world, therefore, lies between cohesion and a submission to the will of the Allies on the one hand and a proletarian dictatorship, carrying out a policy of passive resistance and playing for a world revolution. What group and what policy will win, the government which today seems to represent a majority, or the social revolutionists, who constitute a determined minority, it is difficult to foretell.

Unfortunately we do not know all the facts of the case and our estimates of the future are not much better than guesses. Most guesses about Germany, moreover, as also about Russia, have been singularly wide of the mark. In 1917, for example, a book appeared in Paris entitled En Allemagne une Révolution est-elle possible? It was a symposium of the opinions of such representative men as Maurice Barrès, Victor Bérard, Bourgeois, Finot, Halévy, Lichtenberger, Nordau, Rolland, Sembat and Wetterlé. Most of these able and well informed men disbelieved in a German revolution. The opposition of the Reichstag was an operetta; all Germans were ultra-nationalists, who might have their family quarrels but who respected authority; things, at least during the war, would remain as they were. Today also we are in the dark and we frankly do not know whether Germany will hold together and peaceably recuperate or, despite the difference in conditions, follow in the footsteps of Russia.

Yet we do know that certain factors, partly within our control, will powerfully influence the decision. What course Germany will take will depend upon the factors of food, work and peace. She is obliged rapidly to demobilize millions of men into an industry which has come to a stop and which cannot be started again without the importation of raw materials, and she is forced to make this transition at a time when food is scarce as is also the railroad equipment with which to transport it. If the demobilized soldiers, many of them already desperate, do not find work and food, if even with food they face the prospect of working for thirty years to pay the interest and principal of enormous indemnities, if there is reaction at home and reaction and imperialism abroad, extremists will gain millions of adherents. In the end it will be the discharged soldiers who turn the scale. If the prospect of the future seems endurable to them they may enlist on the side of order and a steady progression towards political and social democracy; if the situation seems hopeless they may prefer chaos, catastrophe and the chance of a successful if bloody world revolution.

Questions on Russia

JUST what does it signify when a United States Senator puts to the government a series of questions on foreign policy? Ordinarily it signifies nothing. Senator Johnson's questions on Russia are grave questions. Have we in fact perpetrated a series of disastrous blunders in our dealings with the Russian Republic? Were we in part responsible for the fall of the Kerensky government, for the drift of affairs under the Soviet from bad to worse? Did our government permit its action to be guided by the factional propaganda which has insinuated itself into practically every newspaper in the country? And are we as a people destined to hang our heads in shame when the lid is off and we are permitted to know how shockingly our naive good faith has been abused? But the government does not

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need to answer, unless the Senator's resolution carries—a most improbable event. An official of the State Department, "whose wife is a member of the former Russian royal family" and who therefore passes for good authority on the Russian democracy, has assured America that Senator Johnson has been taken in.

This account may exhaust the significance of Senator Johnson's questions, so far as Russia is immediately concerned. Not so far as America is concerned, however. Down to the present, on almost every point pertaining to our war policy, and on most points pertaining to domestic policy, the party of opposition has ranged itself to the right of the party in power. The Democrats were for carrying on the war to the bitter end. The Republicans were for carrying on the war indefinitely beyond that end. The Democrats stood for the relentless prosecution of individuals and associations opposed to the war. The Republicans felt that the pursuit was not relentless enough. The Democrats stand for the greatest navy on earth. The Republicans exhibit a disposition to cap this programme with the greatest army as well. And now with the process of demobilization well under way, the Democrats show signs of pigeon-holing all ideas of reconstruction and investing their faith in the forces of private initiative under the New Freedom. That is a game the Republicans can take away from them, with promises of protection, shipping subsidies, an aggressive campaign for the capture of foreign markets.

But with the Democrats in strong force on the conservative flank, there is not much room for a still more conservative Republican party to manoeuvre. They may conceivably win on the assertion that they would have been more warlike than the Democrats, more ruthless in their policies of suppression, on the promise that they will be more subservient to the business interests. They may win, if the war spirit continues through two years, if prosperity remains widely diffused, if industrial relations remain harmonious.

History is likely, however, to move very fast in the next two years. It is likely to move fast enough to unfold many new perspectives. It may very well be that the Democrats will find themselves harder put to it to explain away the fact that they made war upon a new and real, if raw democracy, which had inflicted no injuries upon us, than to explain away the fact that we entered the war against autocracy rather late. They may find the extreme severity of the sentences imposed upon those found guilty under the sweeping provisions of the Democratic sedition law more embarrassing to them than all the charges of lenity and laxity in the present Republican arsenal. They may have reason to regret some of the methods employed in handling conscientious objectors. It may be that under the New Freedom the railway magnates and the captains of industry will overplay their hand. It may be that within two years we shall have tasted the fruits of an unemployment crisis, of agricultural depression, of strikes and industrial disorders. If we had political interests at stake, we should be willing to pay a considerable premium for a policy that would insure us against the probable consequences of such a course of events.

One of those probable consequences is that the Democratic party may find its left flank grievously exposed. There may be abundant manoeuvring space on the left for a party that stands for our ancient personal liberties and for non-interference in the liberties of other democratic nations like Russia, for government ownership of railways, strict federal control of interstate business corporations, a strong federal employment and agrarian policy, democratization of industry, retention of excess profits taxes, prompt repayment of the public debt.

A political movement with such a programme may quite conceivably arise, in the next two years. If it does, it will come out of the West. There is already unrest in that quarter; there will be more when the price of metals falls and mining wages go down; when the guaranty of wheat prices expires; when it begins to appear that the return of the railways to private ownership will mean even higher rates than those that were accepted patriotically as part of the cost of war. The movement will come out of the West under the leadership of Republicans like Senator Johnson. Will it succumb to the superior weight of Eastern conservatism? Perhaps; but the West decided the last election; it may decide the next. And the West is not likely to align itself with extreme conservatism.

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The New Paternalism

THE vast scale upon which affairs go on once seemed enough to make men despair of the possibility of their orderly control. They seemed too big to be got in hand. Men felt dwarfed, shrivelled in the face of the vastness of economic and political conditions. The war put the immensity of things in a new light. It became evident that the very size of things had brought with it a centralization already inchoate in private hands, so that about all that was required to consolidate the centralized control was to give it explicit governmental sanction. The economists and business men called to the industrial front accomplished more in a few months to demonstrate the practicable possibilities of governmental regulation of private business than professional Socialists had effected in a generation. They proved that a few fortresses in our day absolutely command the whole industrial field. When they were taken possession of, public direction of industry followed almost automatically. Production could be controlled by taking over the agencies of shipping and transportation, foreign and domestic; by regulating the giving of credit and the issuing of securities; by administering the labor market, through the government becoming itself a wholesale bidder and conscriptor of men. The centralized mechanisms of industrial and economic control built up in modern business are so definite that when these three things were taken over by the government, public control was shown to be almost ridiculously easy. With sufficient experience to make methods of taxation scientific enough to control profiteering, the simplicity of some form of state capitalism (generally called state socialism) would have been demonstrated.

Reaction against the paternalism of this control now that the war is over is prompt, widespread and highly organized. There are too many interests concerned with maintaining a private paternalistic regulation of other men's affairs, known as personal initiative, to permit this state of things to go unchallenged. But strangely enough there is one form of paternalism stimulated by the war for the continuation of which these same interests are anxiously eager, namely, intellectual paternalism.

The censorship will be relaxed; officially it will be abandoned. Letters will not be so freely opened. Secret service agents of our own and a foreign government will not be so generously encouraged to exercise a kindly supervision of telegraph and telephone lines. The lapse of the Espionage act will make it less easy for governmental officials, big and petty, to regulate the press by threatening its mailing privileges. The still more efficacious domination of the agencies of discussion by the Pulp and Paper Division of the War Industries Board will presumably be relaxed. But one thing will not be forgotten. There has been a remarkable demonstration of the possibilities of guidance of the news upon which the formation of public opinion depends. There has been an equally convincing demonstration of the effect upon collective action of opinion when directed systematically along certain channels. One almost wonders whether the word "news" is not destined to be replaced by the word "propaganda"—though of course words linger after things have been transformed.

The world has come to a curious juncture of events. The development of political democracy has made necessary the semblance at least of consultation of public opinion. The beliefs of the masses cannot be openly ignored. The immense size of a democracy like our own would make the development of community of sentiment and persuasion impossible unless there were definite and centralized agencies for communication and propagation of facts and ideas. Consequently just at the time when shaping public opinion has become an essential industry, there also exist the instrumentalities for news gathering and distributing on a large scale. Not only so, but business conditions almost automatically force these agencies into highly concentrated forms easily manageable from the centre. The small operator in news and "facts" can hardly exist. Comprehensive undertakings with large capital are required. Capital in one form is naturally friendly to capital in other forms. Aside from conscious and unconscious affiliations and combinations, there is the always influential fact that reflecting the views of the powers that be gives access to important sources of information, while lack of subserviency shuts off such access. And in the background unremittingly works the fact that democracies are controlled through their opinions, that opinions are formed by the material upon which they feed, and that propaganda disguised as the distribution of news is the cheapest and most effective way of developing the required tone of public sentiment.

The governmental control demanded by the exigencies of war has in part merely revealed the scope of influential forces previously operative in private hands. But the war has also increased the prior centralization, and created an atmosphere favorable to feeding the people with just those

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things and only those things which the authorities believe that it is good for them to know. The tensions of uncertainty and fear produced by the war have developed an extraordinary sensitiveness which works toward strengthening this benevolent paternalism. On the day when the armistice was signed, an article written by a university professor was published in a daily paper solemnly warning the American people that the reports which stated that the Germans were in revolt and were sincerely seeking peace were in all probability more instances of clever German propaganda designed to undermine American morale. The only thing unusual about this warning was the fact that it happened to be printed a few hours after the revolt and the establishment of peace were accomplished facts. When a few scattering and timid voices were raised in this country in behalf of tempering justice with mercy in the case of the economic conditions of the armistice which had to do with feeding Germany, a semi-official warning was sent out from Washington against the new activities of German agents in this country. One's only embarrassment would be in selecting from the multitude of instances of this sort. When the belief of Germans as supermen in other respects began to wane, the persuasion that they were supermen in propaganda only increased.

Most of the persons who shared such beliefs were neither stupid nor sinister. The dread of the enemy provoked by war tends like all emotions to spread like a cloud and envelop everything in any way associated with the foe. There was enough obnoxious German propaganda to create legitimate fear. Gradually it covered everything, and men saw facts like the collapse of Germany through the fog of fear of German propaganda. Students of human nature also tell us that one may judge of a man's own activities by the charges which he most repeatedly brings against others. Accusations blend with unconscious confessions. It is quite conceivable that some of the reiterated charges of propaganda covered another propaganda; and that, for example, Lord Northcliffe or the advocates of Siberian intervention had little to learn from Germany about the technique of creating opinion.

But in any event there has been stirred up a vast anxiety about the kind of facts and opinions which are brought to public attention. There is uneasiness and solicitude about what men hear and learn. This paternalistic care for the sources of men's beliefs, once generated by war, carries over into the troubles of peace. What we do not see in the news cables from Europe is even more significant than what we do see. Who knows just what is happening in Europe? Have the revolutionary Socialists in Italy been calmed into absolute quiet by the revolutionary occurrences all about them? What are the old minority Socialists in France, who became the majority, doing and saying? Nothing? Compare the scanty amount of news received even about the British Labor party with the amount that reaches us concerning Lloyd George, Carson, Milner, et al., and one might almost think that Americans had a vote to help decide the election. The most striking example of course is the surveillance of what issues as to Russian happenings.

No one can well say how much of this new paternalism is a designedly sinister thing and how much is due to a sincere fear that men's minds will be corrupted by hearing of social changes abroad. The fact which stands out is that the war has generated an atmosphere of safety first regarding all facts knowledge of which stimulates social change. No one can tell just how disturbing here an explicit unbiased report of foreign disturbances may be. The times are still troubled. Let us take no chances. Let the masses be benevolently protected against a knowledge which might not be good for them nor for society. The social and economic woods are full of traps; let us walk gingerly and keep out of harm and risk. This is the psychological factor which cooperates with the physical centralization of the agencies of news gathering and distribution to develop the new paternalistic solicitude for the masses who cannot yet be trusted to think for themselves. Let us make democracy safe for the world by a careful editing and expurgation of the facts upon which it bases the opinions which in the end decide social action. The men most active in urging that state paternalism be surrendered in exchange for private initiative in transportation, banking, investments and manufacturing (barring of course benevolence to the poor working man through a protective tariff) will be most vigorous in solicitude to safeguard against private initiative in belief. Heresy is proverbially a contagious disease. To learn anything about the Bolsheviki except their excesses would corrupt an otherwise staid and respectable America. Consequently men who sincerely wonder how, say, the Roman Emperors could have been so cruel and stupid as to try to prevent the spread of Christianity by oppressive means are sincerely anxious to prevent men's minds and morals from being undermined today by the spread of knowledge of heretical social activities. And it must be admitted that the means formerly at command were clumsy and brutal in comparison with those now available.

JOHN DEWEY.

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Self-Imposed Handicaps

THE Young Men's Christian Association emerges from the war the dominant religious force in American society. It has met a great emergency magnificently. Its history, its tried capacity, the unexpected event—all combined to impose upon it a tremendous responsibility. It has made good. It is entitled to the honor and prestige and widening influence which will certainly accrue from its splendid success.

A great multitude, long outraged by the confusions and pettinesses of American religious sectarianism are looking to this agency to assume a determined leadership in achieving the larger religious unity which all except the hopelessly prejudiced are fully assured must come. A great majority would welcome even drastic measures on the part of the Y. M. C. A. in asserting this leadership. The Association has it in its power to overwhelm and completely sweep aside numerous petty religious factions which have up to now assumed the right to preen themselves in their mischief-making institutions among all of our communities. It will not only be loyally followed and cordially supported in such leadership by the great mass of the American people, but its prestige will be seriously impaired if it does not promptly assert such leadership as soon as the strain of its war task is relieved.

With all this supplying a background in the reader's mind, consider what is implied in the title of this article. The Y. M. C. A. will encounter no serious handicaps in its vast new task of reconstruction except those of its own imposition. These are two, with a third capable of becoming serious if leaders lose their present sensitiveness to public opinion.

The first is that which has given the Association its unique opportunity in the war. It is a young men's institution, and the army and navy which it has magnificently served are composed of young men. But society is not made up solely of young men. There are women and children and old men. There is family life to be fostered. The home is to be rebuilt as the security of our civilization. The task of reconstruction presents a vitally different social problem from that of efficient ministry to millions of homeless male youths, cut off temporarily from the ministry of the ordinary social institutions. The Association has conducted this latter service with consummate skill, and in a devotion which the American people will never forget. But the new ministry is radically different. New arts must be employed. New objectives must be set forth. A new social science must be learned. Will a "young men's" association be equal to the new demands? Certainly it will not if it shall presume to employ the old arts, maintain the old objectives and be content with the formulas of the old science.

Being a young men's movement the Association was compelled even before the war to accept the consequences of its self-imposed limitations. It made necessary the organization of the independent Young Women's Christian Association. And the two have not worked in complete harmony. Their leaders have fallen into dispute. The two organizations have developed different ideals. One has criticised the other for being different from itself. This has never broken out into open conflict. But differences have not always been confined to those gentle frictions by which kindred souls generate a genial glow of mutual affection. There is no prospect that these differences, under a divided directorate, will be eliminated in the reconstruction period now opening.

Furthermore, the Y. M. C. A. has no programme for the community. Any agency which leads out and on in the new day must have one, and a thoroughly seasoned one. The Association has not been in the community-building business, certainly not during the exceptional conditions it has so efficiently met under the military programme, nor was it engaged largely or successfully in that business before the war. The Association has not been a home builder. It has been charged with being a home-destroyer. Of course it has never been wilfully that. It has always rendered at least lip-homage to the home. But it has builded magnificent club-houses for the accommodation of bachelor young men, and has often been censured for having delayed the setting up of the necessarily humbler home by the luxurious beguilements of bachelorhood. Much of this criticism has been little more than amusing. The Association has permitted itself to engage in no positive measures tending to weaken our holiest social institutions. But neither has it advanced a positive and statesmanlike programme in support of the home and the community life. Perhaps it could not and cannot. It would seem that it cannot so long as it holds consistently to the self-imposed organic limitation written into its name.

It is true that the Association, long before the war crisis came on, had grown restive under this limitation. It was almost feverishly pressing forms of community service here and there which it had assumed more or less inconsistently with its genius. However that may be, the issue must be met within

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the Association. But before a thoroughgoing community programme can be projected and promoted by the Y. M. C. A. it must set before itself new objectives, and perhaps radically reorganize itself. This will not be an altogether simple process. The old guard must be somewhere about, however subdued by the terrific rush of progress during the war crisis. In the placid days of peace it will not fail to assert itself. "Young men" is written into the bond, and it cannot be expunged or written over larger without the old guard's being heard from. It would seem folly for the progressive element to seek to evade the issue, and surreptitiously to erase the old limitation, and write in the new and broader policy while the old guard is not watching. The old guard is always watching, and attempts at subterfuge are precisely the kind of nuts meant for its teeth. Will not one of the first and most important tasks before the Young Men's Christian Association in its programme of social reconstruction be that of reconstructing itself? It will run the serious risk of failing in its after-war mission unless it does. Our new society will demand community building. A sectional agency cannot lead in that task. It must be an agency as broad in its sympathies as the whole people, and it must think with the mind of the whole people.

It will be as bad, or worse, to be sectarian. Here emerges the second handicap which the Association has itself assumed. It is a socially sectional agency in that it assumes to serve one group or section of society. But it is more than a "social" force. It is a religious agency. It never allows itself or its friends to forget this. It has conducted its great war work programme under the spur of religious motives. And in so doing it has, whether intentionally or not, given the American people a new definition of religion. Its ministry has prompted countless numbers of young men in the military service, and of older men standing to one side and looking on, who have up to now been indifferent to the claims of religion—has prompted these to declare, "Well, if this is religion, I want some of it, and the more the better!"

If the average American were asked what is the matter with our religious order, he would promptly reply in a word, sectarianism. Religious organizations are under reproach from coast to coast because they serve to house petty bigotries. Nothing so promptly calls forth the applause of a popular audience anywhere in the country as the denunciation of the faction-breeding programme maintained by our almost innumerable religious sects. And the largest asset of the Young Men's Christian Association is its long service in undermining this system, and in generating the spirit of religious unity and active cooperation.

Yet the Association carries a sect name on its banner. Happily this has served so far as a challenge to religious unity. It has been understood as a standing reproach to divided and competing Christian bodies. Here is a religious institution which dares to be Christian with no sect qualifications. But now and henceforth this term must prove a sect limitation, and bring the Association itself under reproach. This term will be an affront to the more than three millions of American Jews and to their multiplied millions of descendants. No efficiency of process can overcome this prejudice. Furthermore, a rapidly increasing proportion of the non-Jewish American population resent the assumption of this term. Multitudes who devoutly pray that our civilization may become genuinely and unimpeachably Christian have already lost patience with tagged and labelled religious institutions. The spirit shown by those who doggedly cling to these labels is itself conclusive condemnation of their usage.

The Association has voluntarily shattered many of its sectarian traditions during the war emergency. It has with little economy discarded most of its "tests" in the selection of secretaries and directors of its stupendous enterprises. In the more subtle days of peace will it attempt to restore these "standards" and renew the old "tests"? If it does not, what of the old guard, again? If it does restore the old limitations how can it avoid affront to those many sincere men who have given their best in its service, and who cannot and do not desire to qualify under the old tests? How can it keep faith with those confiding young men of the army and navy who have found in its spirit as broad as human need the chief attraction to its ministry? This is a dilemma which no friend of the Association will seek to avoid. One horn or the other must be chosen. And if the newborn institution does not bravely cast off this self-imposed restriction its great opportunity will pass to other agencies. For the day of sect labels and sectarian programme is passed, or will speedily pass, in American society. Does the Association sincerely desire to charge our civilization with the Christian spirit and purpose? Very well. One way not to succeed is to plaster itself and its programme with labels which an increasing proportion of the American people must recognize to be the badge of religious bigotry and intolerance.

The third of the Association's handicaps may or may not prove serious. Its management is undemocratic. The new day is dedicated to democracy. It is commonly understood that upon the installation of the socialistic regime in Russia the Young Men's Christian Association was banished from that land. It was identified with the capital-

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istic order. A considerable element of American society will judge the Association under the verdict of Russian Bolshevikism. On the other hand, its condemnation under that regime will be one of its highest commendations among a large proportion of Americans.

The Association is identified with the capitalistic regime. If it had antagonized American capital it would long ago have gone out of business, at least the sort of business under which it has so far prospered. It has been careful not to antagonize capital. Capital has reciprocated by lavish support. What effect this will have upon the Association's after-war destinies, and upon its ministry of social and religious reconstruction, only the event will reveal.

But aside from considerations of its sources of revenue, the management is undemocratic. It does not pretend to be democratic. The local organization shows scant evidences of democratic procedure, and the national management shows still less. Yet it may be asserted that no institution of our society not directly controlled by democratic procedure has shown itself so pliable under the popular will as has the Young Men's Christian Association. Certainly no other religious institution has been so responsive.

There are causes for this, independent of the personnel of the management, and perhaps these causes will continue to operate, at least as wholesomely as in the past. The programme of the Association has kept it in intimate touch with elements of society in which the sense of and demand for reality are most vivid and importunate. It has been compelled to keep keenly alive or it would have died abjectly.

But the peril should not be minimized. The Association has not put its management on a democratic basis. If it maintains the spirit of democracy by a prompt and unreserved response to the popular will, perhaps the busy democracy of the early future will not ask too many embarrassing questions as to forms under which the management operates. But if ever it allows itself to stagnate or fall into a rut, then the popular judgment will be severe and disastrous. Only a thoroughgoing democracy can afford to fail. Almost any autocracy or oligarchy can keep going so long as it is successful. A single failure, however, is its doom.

Nobody even in a democracy stops long to scrutinize a successful management. The statesmanship which has enabled the Young Men's Christian Association to play its part so greatly to the admiration of the American people may not desert it during the critical days now to follow. So long as it succeeds, Americans are not the people to withhold their plaudits. Success arouses them to unreasoning enthusiasm. But if the present system of control should once fail, then disposal of the wreckage of the institution will be a problem of the first magnitude. Americans rarely trouble themselves to cross bridges till they come to them, or busy themselves with "wrecks" as soundly intact as is this institution which has rendered such signal service in the nation's supreme crisis.

In any case, a multitude of sincere spirits are awaiting with enthusiasm the beginning of the Young Men's Christian Association upon its destined tack of community religious reconstruction. And before its present force is spent perhaps it will have wrought so mightily and wholesomely that the reconstructed social programme can dispense even with it, in the perfected democracy towards which all events hasten our own and the world life.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

The Business Man and the Future

THE recent "Reconstruction Conference" at Atlantic City, attended by almost five thousand business men, afforded an interesting glimpse of the mental processes of the commercial mind after the war has wrought its supposedly cataclysmic changes. The formal speeches, couched always in terms of an idealism which nobody takes seriously, gave only a slight clue to what the business man is really thinking; the resolutions introduced by the dozens of small groups representing specific industries came nearer to it; and the casual conversation of the delegates while off duty, in hotel lobbies and over the dinner table, offered the best interpretation of all.

If the "business interests" of the nation have suffered a spiritual rebirth out of the world's blood bath, the men who gathered at Atlantic City offered surprisingly little evidence of it. The elaborate and widespread socialization of industry during the war represents to these Chamber of Commerce members merely a perversion of business from its true course, to be tolerated only during the hour of national crisis; and the multiplex system of checks and balances built up by the government, its boards and committees and rules and regulations, are all to be swept away forthwith. Business is to return to unrestricted private enterprise. In fact, the delegates will not be satisfied with a mere return to pre-war conditions of private control; they want, and many of them expressly said so, the repeal of the Sherman and Clayton laws, "and all other checks on private initiative." The vacant places on the Federal Trade Commission should be filled at once by the appointment of

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"sound business men." Sentiment was freely offered in favor of a new law which should make possible in domestic sales efforts the same type of cooperation which the Webb-Pomerene law offers abroad. Acting on evident concerted inspiration, a large number of the special committee conferences from specific trades introduced resolutions condemning government ownership in principle. The railroads should be returned to their owners, as should telephones, telegraphs, and cables. The merchant marine is to be operated with "full benefit of the driving force of private initiative," which, as Charles M. Schwab told the delegates, is necessary for maximum efficiency of our American shipping. One observer, at least, who sat through the convention, was now and again haunted by a sudden conviction that none of these men had read a newspaper for at least six months. . . .

The delegates themselves were well satisfied with their own advanced mental viewpoint. The convention marked, as they were told not infrequently, a new era in American industry, and the discussions of the labor question were Exhibit A in support of this contention. It is true that the tone of the discussion of labor was radically different from that of ante-bellum conventions of this character. Labor, as everyone told everyone else, must have "a better deal" than it has ever had. Mr. Schwab explained to his audience in a humorous way that "it is time to stop talking about capital sharing equally with labor, and to begin doing it." His audience cheered, but were much more enthusiastic when he protested, a moment later, against "labor trusts," and declared darkly that while organization of the workers is all right, such organization must be truly representative of the workers in the plant, and not of any outside influence.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., did the convention a great service by offering it a happy way of appearing liberal toward labor without actually doing anything distressing. His paper was a model of idealism, and showed conclusively that starting from his erstwhile Colorado viewpoint, he has now caught up with the opinions which sociologists held ten years ago. The happiness of the individual is of paramount importance, he declared; the piling up of more material wealth must give first place to considerations of general social welfare. He thereupon developed a complex theory of the creation of shop committees of employees which should cooperate with the managers and adjust grievances, schemes excellent so far as they went, but which were really intended to avoid the problem of cooperating with union labor. The convention endorsed Mr. Rockefeller's "creed" unanimously. For the most part, however, the humanitarianism of the speakers who discussed labor would seem to have been: about two-fifths left-over war phrases about cooperation; two-fifths real fear of the spread of radical Socialism; and one-fifth a comfortable expectation that there will soon be a convenient margin of the unemployed which will abrogate the necessity of arranging too idealistic conditions. More than one delegate said this freely in private conversation. Apparently there was little approval of the sound and thoughtful "labor programme" offered by Henry P. Kendall, chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, whose central point was the principle that every individual has the right to regular and continuous employment at a wage sufficient for the maintenance of proper living conditions.

The reactionary viewpoint which found expression in the slogan of "Hands off" was, naturally, echoed in the discussions of taxation. Alba B. Johnson, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, wanted a two-billion dollar cut in the revenues to be raised by taxation, in order that business may be unhampered in expanding, such expansion being for the welfare, of course, of the nation. It almost seemed, for some bewildered moments, as though he advocated a permanent policy of paying government expenses only partially by taxation, the greater burden being borne by constant new bond issues! In any event, the amortization of our war indebtedness is something which may safely be postponed to the indefinite future.

That prices must be kept up was the burden of many speakers at special committee meetings. This is to be done in order that high wages may still be paid. Though government "interference" with private business was so heartily decried, it is interesting to note that industry after industry was advised, by the various War Service Committees, to retain in force the economies of operation, the restrictions of wasteful practice, which the authorities at Washington forced upon them.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the repressions which the war placed upon individual expression served merely to bottle up a vast amount of fermenting emotion which is now blowing itself off with redoubled vigor. The business man has had to sit back meekly and swallow a great deal of "government interference" with his business, his profits and his handling of labor. Now he feels that patriotism, if not adjourned, is at least laid on the table; and the Atlantic City convention gives us what is probably only a mild indication of how proud the business man is of himself and his theories; and how uncompromisingly he proposes to put them into effect.

HOWARD BURTON.

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The General Election in England

By an English Liberal

THE General Election finds English politics in a state of great confusion. The present Parliament is admittedly worn out; it has long since ceased to be a faithful reflection of the electorate or to exercise any real influence on the government. There is an unanswerable case for an early election that would give a just representation of the country's mind under the new reform act, which has given the franchise to many millions of new voters, including women and the army. One may make too much of the point that the country and the government should not be plunged into the dust and turmoil of an election campaign at the very time when the questions of the world settlement demand the closest attention, but it is of extreme importance nevertheless that public opinion should be directed to these issues lest they be left to the arbitrary settlement of diplomats and politicians, many of whom belong to the old school and have little sympathy with the new.

Now it is certain that the election campaign, which is already generating heat with great rapidity, will distract the public mind from all these questions. It is not the principles of peace of which men are talking, but of M. P.'s and personalities. That is the first reason for deprecating an election now.

Unhappily, the result of the election cannot in any event be a fair reflection of the people's will. To begin with, the new register of voters is hopelessly defective. Tens of thousands of lawful voters do not figure on the lists. The Local Government Board, which ought to have ordered that the lists should be made up by a house-to-house canvass, left the method of compilation at the option of the Registration officers. These in turn, in the majority of cases, left the householders to fill in and return a highly complicated schedule which large numbers of them did not understand. The inevitable result followed. Thousands never returned their forms at all; thousands filled up the particulars wrongly. The electorate will not even be fairly represented on the voting lists until the register is again made up.

It is true that the election could not be postponed until the making of a new register, but if it could have been put off until after the peace settlement and the return of the main portion of the armies, a very serious evil would have been mitigated. During the discussion of the franchise bill much was made of the soldiers' and sailors' vote. Whoever else had or had not a vote, the "boys" were to have a full voice in reconstructing the new world for which they had been fighting. But now it is estimated that we shall be lucky if fifty per cent of them are able to record their votes and some authorities put the proportion very much lower. From every constituency comes the same story of inaccurate and insufficient addresses by which to reach the men on active service, and for days the party officials have been searching the army books, endeavoring in hot haste to discover the correct address and thereafter trusting to luck that the man wanted will be reached. As for the proxy vote, which was to solve the problem of the soldiers' vote in distant lands, it is agreed that little use is being made of it at all.

The complaint against Mr. Lloyd George is that he should be forcing an election now instead of waiting until after the Peace Conference. Then would have been the time for an election on the principles of reconstruction. He says that he must have a mandate to go to the Peace Conference as the representative of the nation to negotiate a "just peace." His statements of the conditions on which this peace is to be made are unimpeachable. "No settlement that contravenes the principles of eternal justice will be a permanent one." "We shall go to the Peace Conference to guarantee that the League of Nations is a reality." But the fact is that Mr. Lloyd George and his government already have all the mandate that they can possibly desire for the Peace Conference. They have won the war; it is their right to make the peace. No one in England disputes this. For the peace settlement and up to the beginning of the work of reconstruction Mr. Lloyd George stands unchallenged. Why, then, does he insist on an election?

Mr. Lloyd George is looking far beyond the Peace Conference. He is using the Conference and the peace settlement as a means by which to obtain a further spell of office—five years, if he can last so long—in which to carry out a general programme under his compact with Mr. Bonar Law and the Unionist party. This is one of the reasons which is alienating from him much Liberal support that has hitherto been his. He is imitating the tactics of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain who, at the "Khaki" Election of 1900, obtained a mandate to wind up the Boer War and used it until the end of 1905 to carry out a purely Tory programme. Mr. Lloyd George also has a programme, and it would not be fair to say that he has not given the country a broad outline of what he intends to do.

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He has done this, and much of his programme is wholly admirable. We are to have great social reforms, housing—"habitations fit for the heroes who have won the war"—increased production, a reduction of the hours of labor, a minimum wage, improved transportation and the like. These are excellent ideas, if vaguely phrased. But in Mr. George's letter to the Unionist party, and it is this which forms the basis of the new Coalition bargain, there are other proposals which are by no means vague and are concessions to the Unionists for which they have given no return.

Mr. George agrees that preferences should be given within the Empire on present and future duties, with the reservation that there shall be no taxes on food. But everyone knows, as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain always insisted, that without taxes on food there can be no genuine preference and that the Unionist party is merely accepting Mr. George's concession as an instalment of the full Protectionist policy which is its own. One Unionist member has already announced that the various commercial interests should be up and doing to substantiate their different claims to state protection. Besides, the Liberal who believes in freedom of exchange as one of the bulwarks of world peace, asks whether the new preferential system is to include the Crown colonies and dependencies, and whether the Coalition is arriving at the "self-sufficing" and closed Empire which some imperialists demand. Again, Mr. George declares for the principle of Home Rule, with the reservation that Ulster must not be coerced, but he shelves Home Rule for the present, though the Home Rule act is on the statute book. What is perhaps most ominous of all, the Coalition manifesto, signed by Mr. George and Mr. Law, mentions almost as an aside that the House of Lords is now to be reformed—of course, on a democratic basis. The House of Lords reformed by a government of which the united Tory party will inevitably be the mainstay! Picture the state of mind of the good Liberal who sees Free Trade abandoned, Ireland coerced, and the Parliament act, by which the teeth of the Lords were (as he fondly thought) drawn finally, overthrown in order that a conservative and a stronger Second Chamber may be set up against the House of Commons. These fears are fairly justified, for the breach in the Liberal party and the abstention of Labor mean that the Tory party will be the mainspring of the Coalition. Mr. George's contribution is to be a generous policy of social reform, if he can impose it on his Tory friends.

It is, however, Mr. George's handling of the election in the constituencies which is at the moment rousing resentment. His speeches, indeed, are astonishing. He tells us blandly that party politics in the days of peace did not, as we thought, turn on questions of high principle; they were, it seems, merely a way of infusing life and spirit into the questions of the day. Opposition, which we had thought so necessary to democratic government, is "organized fault-finding." A legitimate, if mistaken, attempt to overthrow his government this spring is stigmatized as a "conspiracy." How explain so complete a volte-face in the greatest and most successful of our party politicians? Liberals ask resentfully whether Mr. Lloyd George was sincere in the days of party politics of which he now speaks so cynically, and does he think that they also were playing a mere game when they declared that they were fighting for principles and ideals. But after all speeches do not kill. Mr. George, however, does not stop at speeches. Power and success—and all men admit his success as a War Minister and are profoundly grateful to him for it—have made him intolerant of opposition. He has declared war on Liberals who decline to give a pledge to support the Coalition government, not for the conclusion of the war, not for the making of peace, but for all its programme, for so long as it remains in office.

An astonishing result has followed. Coalition candidates, sanctioned and approved by Mr. Lloyd George and his Whips, are being put up against lifelong Liberals. In London the Coalition approval goes to forty-six Unionists as against twelve Liberals. In Lancashire, Coalition candidates are being set up against the local Liberal in constituencies which have had an unbroken Liberal record for a generation. It is inevitable that there should be bitter resentment against a policy which threatens the Liberal party with disaster, and which subordinates the autonomy of the constituency to the manoeuvres or dictation of the Whips' offices in London. Mr. Lloyd George has lost ground heavily among Liberals since these manoeuvres came to the light of day. This is so much the accepted view that at the time of writing it is rumored that the Coalition docket of approval will be withdrawn throughout the country.

The election makes no one happy but the Tories. Mr. George, if he wins the victory, will have no genuine Coalition behind him. Labor has repudiated it; most of the Liberal party is now hostile to him. Liberals, on the other hand, lack a leader. There is great dissatisfaction with Mr. Asquith. With him patience, which he has so often eulogized, becomes inertia. He is a man of words, not of action, too often of bold words which go unfulfilled, but so far in this crisis he has not even found bold words to give to his expectant following. He has still his chance during the next few weeks, but there are many Liberals who regard it as his last. More

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and more do real Liberals look towards the Labor party, which at all events has a policy and a mind of its own. Labor has cut itself free from the Coalition and most of its Ministers are coming out of office, slowly and hesitatingly indeed, but they are coming. Those who stay, as Mr. Barnes and Mr. Roberts apparently will stay, will represent no one but themselves, and for that reason they are likely to find that the Coalition has little use for them.

But the Tories are in good fettle. If they win the election, the new government will be predominantly Tory. They will set their feet on Free Trade. They will govern Ireland with the jackboot. They will set up a Second Chamber after their own hearts to check the popular tide which will shortly be in motion. This is their chance to regain all that they have lost since 1906, and they will not neglect it, if it comes their way.

"Integer Vitae"

As It Might Have Been Faithfully Rendered by Professor Robert Bridges.

(Variations on an ancient theme by Q. H. Flaccus, Esq.)

He who has lived a blameless life and pure one
Needs nought of Moorish bows or mighty javelins,
Needs neither armored plates nor poisoned arrows
Fuscus, to shield him.

Whether he roams beside the shoals of Libya
Or through the barren Caucasus he wanders—
Even in lands where, glorious in fable,
Rolls the Hydaspes. . . .

Once in the Sabine woods a wolf beheld me
Strolling about unarmed. He heard me singing,
Singing a song of Lalage—and sudden
The creature vanished.

Oh place me amid icy desolation
Where not a tree is cheered by sunny breezes,
Where Jove himself is only seen in sullen
Sleet and gray weather;

Or place me where the sun's great chariot
Drives over me in lands that burn and wither—
Still Lalage's sweet words and sweeter laughter
Always shall rouse me.

As It Might Have Been Translated by Edwin Arlington Robinson.

Horatius Flaccus, child of fate,
Was honest as the fabled farmer;
His gentle virtues held him strait
As though they were a suit of armor.
His guileless spirit always hid
What ruder natures went and did
And all he knew of ways forbid
Was kept from every charmer.

Careless of this or that mischance
He walked the outskirts daily;
Convinced that each fell circumstance
Would somehow meet him gaily.
So that he watched with half a yawn
A brute upon his new-cut lawn,
A hairy sort of devil's spawn
Red-eyed and almost scaly.

The creature stretched unearthly jaws;
Hell opened to affright him.
But Flaccus, holding to the laws
Of what could not excite him,
Followed a path direct and long,
Continuing to shape his song;
"The man," it went, "who knows no wrong
Is armed" . . . *ad infinitum.*

And with this bland, incurious faith
He passed a calm existence;
Having, for all the ghosts, no wraith
Of question or resistance.
Held to a bright security,
Like sunlight on a fallen tree,
Or voices rising from the sea
Waking a moonlit distance.

As It Might Have Been Translated by W. H. Davies.

The man that's good,
He never has
To wear a hood
Of steel or brass.

No shield he's got,
No sword or gun;
He's safe in what
He may have on.

A friend of elves,
He tries his tunes
On shaggy wolves
And burly bruins.

He sings an air
That's old and sweet,
And ladies fair
Sit at his feet.

They give him tea,
They bring him food.
Who would not be
The man that's good.

As It Might Have Been Translated by Robert Frost.

He took the rifle from the cupboard shelf
And having oiled the catch and greased the barrel,
He put it back again. At last he turned
And tried the window-locks and stood awhile
Watching the snow pile hummocks on itself
Where there was scarcely any need for mounds.
And lay fresh sheets above the piece of ground,
Such as it was, that soon would be his bed.
Something, somebody's saying, half a phrase
Kept him there standing at the kitchen door.
It almost came, escaped him and went out
Back to the pine-trees where it grew. He followed,
Afraid of nothing but a childish fear

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Of all outdoors that made him hum his tune
A little louder than he meant to do.
"In Amsterdam there lived a maid"—and so
On to the shameless end of it; at least
Nearly the end. For, towards the final bars,
Behind the witch-grass and hepaticas,
A great white wolf appeared as suddenly
As though the snow had made or blown him there.
He thought of fairy-tales he had forgotten
And what, for reasons, he could not forget
Of werewolves and the time he had run off
To see the animals in Barnum's circus.
He took a doubtful step and then undid it
To gain a minute's time; thought of the gun
Within hands' reach, then put the thought
Out of his mind to let another in:
Something he must have heard or maybe read
Concerning music and the savage breast.
So to his song again, and to the last
Lewd notes of it. When he looked up there was
A windless stir in the forsythia trees,
An empty space where the strange beast had been,
And nothing else changed from an hour ago.
The moon went through a twisted apple tree
That leaned its crooked length against the sky.
A log snapped in the stove, reminding him
That he had meant to bring some kindling in
And that it must be late and he was cold.
He watched the moon a moment, shut the door;
Tried all the window-locks again, pulled down
The shades, blew out the light and clomped upstairs.

As It Might Have Been Translated by Carl Sandburg.

Take it from me,
When the cops are gone and the long barrels of the
Remingtons are only a long smear of rust,
When the guns of France and the arrows of Rome
Are part of the red mud,
When the chilled steel rots,
The lovers will rise . . . from the dusk . . .
in the new grass.

Take it from me,
When New York is corn for the huskers, and Pekin
and Hamburg are mixed with the dust of Libya,
When the gray wolf prowls in the jungle that used
to be Main Street,
The lovers will laugh . . . in the dusk . . .
in the new grass.

Believe me or not,
Iron wont help and the sword will be softer than virtue.
You'll know, some day, I said a mouthful,
When a young star winks at you through a cobweb
And the ghosts of the past are put out of business.
When the old moon stands still and the earth
is rammed into silence,
Take it from me,
The lovers will sing . . . in the dust . . . in
the new grass. . . .

As It Might Have Been Translated by Irving Berlin.

Mister Horace, won't you come and sit with me,
Play a tune that's made an awful hit with me.
Go and get your fiddle;
Rosin up your bow;
Here's a little riddle
That I'd like to know.
So——
Tell me why your music makes me feel so good;
Cheers up everybody in the neighborhood.
I ain't never worried;
Gee! I'm awful strong
For the grass and cows and chickens
And my heart beats like the dickens
When I hear you singing that song.

Chorus:
Play me that Integer Vitae Rag;
(It gives me joy.)
Lose your blues and go on a musical jag.
(Oh boy!)
It's the latest, greatest, sort of new sensation,
Watch your step! There's pep in this here syncopation.
Don't it beat creation how it hits you with a slam.
(My honey lamb!)
So play that mysterious, serious drag
(Oh mister please!)
I'd get delirious if it should weary us and lag—
(I'm on my knees.)
Take my rings and other things, my socks or nightie,
If you'll only play that flighty, Gosh Almighty,
Highty-tighty,
Integer Vitey
Ra-hag!

LOUIS UNTERMEYER.

CORRESPONDENCE

Tactics of Silence

SIR: Professor Dewey's article on the Cult of Irrationality came to me like a fine flash of light. In this war the thinkers among us have muzzled themselves out of the same feeling of patriotism which has led others to France.

The first, may I call it the minor, objective of the war, has now been won, partly through these tactics of silence, but if we are to win the bigger objective, we must see to it that that silence is now broken.

AMY SPINGARN.

New York City.

Self-Determination for Russia?

SIR: You reply in last week's issue to President Tyler that "the right of national self-determination, like other rights, depends for its validity upon the purposes which the assertion of the right is intended to serve." In the case of our Civil War the North was the judge of the validity of the South's right of self-determination—rendering its decision by "blood and iron." Must we not suppose that it is in accordance with a similar logic that the Allies and the United States are apparently preparing to make themselves judges of whether the right of self-determination belongs to the Russian people, in case they follow the devious ways of Bolshevism?

WILLIAM M. SALTER.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson, an interpretation, by A. Maurice Low. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

SOME day, not too soon, a biographer like Mr. Lytton Strachey will write a life of Woodrow Wilson. Then we shall see Mr. Wilson in his B. V. D.s as well as in his presidency, and we shall be able to make a good guess as to his actual figure. At present we have almost nothing to go on in that line—nothing but exterior views and spiritual triangulation. The man himself is not explanatory.

Mr. A. Maurice Low is no Lytton Strachey. To look to him for Mr. Strachey's emancipated mind and sure-footed imagination is to prepare for a disappointment. Mr. Low is above everything else a conventional writer with a spotless shirt-front style and he has not the tiniest intention of being adventurous or impolitic. But in the starched class to which he belongs he has composed a highly creditable interpretation. It may be roughly defined as the work of selecting the best evidence of Mr. Wilson's presidential policy before, during and in the war, and giving a plausible human source to it. Most of the evidence is derived from public utterances. There is extremely little new material and hardly a single sidelight. But plausibly, very plausibly, Mr. Low builds up a strong, silent figure and takes its measure for a toga. The toga, strange to say, is Lincolnian. That seems to be the orthodox drapery for great presidents. And Mr. Low has no doubts as to his subject's greatness. His book is a sustained argument for the loftiness of Mr. Wilson.

That loftiness, it may as well be disclosed, is based on what Mr. Low calls morality. Through many chapters, especially The First Year of Leadership and "Too Proud to Fight" and The Evangelist and America in the War, Mr. Low develops this idea, and he sums it up in an emphatic passage towards the end:

> The foundation of Mr. Wilson's policy is morality. That has been said before, it has been emphasized, and it cannot be overemphasized if the man is to be understood, for the policy is the man. His critics call it idealism. His opponents say it is the unpractical, dogmatic man forced into a place for which he is unfitted. One may call it idealism, one may describe Mr. Wilson as the unpractical man, but the fact remains that his policy from the first day he entered the White House has been dictated by morality. It was morality that governed his Mexican policy; it was morality that would not permit him to countenance American bankers taking their pound of flesh from China; it was morality that made him ask for the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls exemption; it was morality that made him see the unfairness of the anti-Japanese legislation; it was morality that imposed upon him neutrality and self-restraint and patience. It was morality, again, that dictated the Address of January 22.

In this passage there is a genuine clue. It is easy to ask, Was it morality that dictated Mr. Wilson's conversion to woman suffrage? Was it morality that dictated his intervention in Russia? But the doubt that these questions provoke does not deprive Mr. Low's argument of substance. "I have not read history," Mr. Wilson told the New York Press Club, "without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces." This belief in the "moral forces," properly understood, gives one a touchstone for Mr. Wilson's talk about dedication and service and righteousness, justice and idealism and freedom. As head of the United States he has had his own inflexible conception of the rights of the presidency, and to that conception he has imparted something of the formidable character of circumstance. But beyond his remarkable insistence on "the right to plan and the duty to execute," an insistence that gives him a unique leverage, there has been a motivation which Christianity, and Presbyterian Christianity, alone can explain. "All his life he heard voices in the air," says Mr. Low, referring to one of Mr. Wilson's recurring figures of speech. Those voices have usually had the accent of righteousness, and righteous Mr. Wilson has striven to be, in return. Justice, idealism, service, dedication, elevation, purification, unselfishness—his vocabulary is the vocabulary of Tennysonian religiousness, with its hair cut short and moderated by American good sense.

Smiling self-confidence accompanies this zeal for righteousness. It comes naturally to Mr. Wilson to inscribe a wreath to Lafayette with these words, "In memory of the great Lafayette, from a fellow-servant of liberty." He classifies himself with Lafayette instinctively. He too is definitely on the side of the angels. So, you may say, are the pacifists. But here Mr. Wilson comes to be differentiated from the Tolstoyan and the Bryanite, the Bolshevik and the Marxian. "What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists, but their stupidity. My heart is with them, but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not." This note of expedient righteousness, this tone of "listen to father," is not emphasized by Mr. Low, but it deserves to be emphasized. It marks the high sense of mastery in Mr. Wilson that suggests how, at twenty-three, he could have written Congressional Government, and how, after fifty, he could have gone into politics. "I know and they don't." The man who can say that while still self-controlled and reticent has the kind of worldliness which makes him stubbornly significant. If he makes up his mind to address Congress in person he does not do so with the opposition of Congress in mind. He does it with his vast overpowering self-justification in mind. "Grasping the facts, he keeps his imagination ahead of the facts." And if he grasps the wrong facts, he lets them go, and grasps another bunch better suited to his moral forces.

Mr. Wilson follows Washington's model, it seems to me, much more than he follows Lincoln's model. He is much too urbanely oracular to resemble Lincoln. His god is God the Father, where Lincoln's was God the Son. What Mr. Wilson admires most of all is "the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action," all attributes of God the Father. And he retains a characteristic belief that "existence is a perfectly ordered scheme." This, so far, has been a sustaining faith for him. It supported him through neutrality and ordained war for him, and it now enables him to work serenely in the midst of "that combination of stupidity, selfishness and immorality known as European diplomacy"—to use the words of Mr. Low.

There are many incidental judgments and strong contemporary convictions in Mr. Low's book that one would like to comment on. His allusions to Mr. Roosevelt and to the late Mr. Spring-Rice seem a little envenomed and in his eagerness to speak as an Anglo-Saxon he totally overlooks the fact that the French nation had a slight share in the war. But these are trivialities. The great point is the material that the book organizes for one's own interpretation of Mr. Wilson. How, one wonders, will this man of literary and religious mind come out of the practical conflict of ideals now in hot process in Europe. So far as the war is

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concerned, he rode in the whirlwind and directed the storm as few in America conceived possible. The same pertinacious man who put through the tariff act and the federal reserve scheme dominated the immense programme of 1917-18, and carried through the war without any ugly hitch or scandal or ineptitude in military management and without gross concession or perversion in the stupendous business of production. But now his imagination is confronted with a world in which the I. W. W.s cannot be turned over to Mr. Burleson and Mr. Gregory, a world in which the norms of Protestant Christianity are probably no longer the governing norms. Courage and self-control, a "rare quality of political leadership developed to an extraordinary degree"—these Mr. Wilson will retain, but will he be able to appeal efficaciously to disorganized peoples while still doing business with greedy governments? It is a magnificent task, but much the hardest task he has ever undertaken. If he succeeds in it, it will be a practical vindication of a sincere religious faith, backed by extreme resoluteness and a most active intelligence. But one cannot avoid the fear that this very faith, plus Mr. Wilson's faculty for self-justification, may provide nothing better than an escape from the inherent difficulties and conflicts of the situation. Will Mr. Wilson come through, or will he merely try to alleviate the world by large injections of pious rhetoric? His protestations of morality and righteousness leave distrust rather than dispel it. The best righteousness, after all, is seen, not heard. F. H.

Siegfried Sassoon

Counter-Attack, by Siegfried Sassoon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

MR. SASSOON'S poetry is bitter with the gall of sensibilities bruised and broken by unescapable sordidness, but its almost unutterable gloom is counter-attacked by surviving, albeit shattered idealism. Here is no glorification of the war as such—he views it as do many experienced soldiers—"It's a dirty job, but we've got to do it; we've got to do it. but it's a dirty job." With fearless eye he pierces the halo of romance which surrounds the warrior and reveals to us the other side of the shield, the reverse of the picture, the inside of the lining—and shows it bare. There is certainly no charm or glamour about war as painted in the following—rather, our first impression is shock—we are face to face with the ugliest realism unsparingly expressed:

SUICIDE IN THE TRENCHES

I knew a simple soldier boy
Who grinned at life in empty joy,
And slept soundly through the lonesome dark,
And whistled early with the lark.

In winter trenches, cowed and glum,
With crumps and lice and lack of rum,
He put a bullet through his brain.
No one spoke of him again.

You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye
Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
Sneak home and pray you'll never know
The hell where youth and laughter go.

Without harping on realistic detail for its own sake, he strips war of its romance, and does it with such a personal consecration to the cause that there is nothing which could be construed as inimical. He deplores to the utmost any interest in the war which is purely personal and all pettiness which war breeds—the man whose brother has "gone West," and who in his grief shouts and sobs and raves at the "bleeding war"—in his belief, Sassoon says, "such men have lost all patriotic feeling"; and the women too, who view it in the light of their own sons and brothers and husbands—to whom the war is "fine and bold and bright" so long as "He's safe" even though other men "agonize and fight."

Sometimes the poet strikes a note which reminds us of Nichols (another of that group of young poets whom the war has produced), for both of them love the men they command and feel deeply their own responsibility as officers, and whether in action at the front or in "bitter safety" on Sick Leave, Sassoon is haunted by that "secret burden":

Pride in their courage; pity for their distress;
And burning bitterness
That I must take them to the accursed Line.

The war to him is a sacrifice to "cleanse the world of guilt," and there is in him, no more than in Nichols or Sorley or Graves, any trace of anger or hate of the enemy, although Sassoon is never more remarkable than in his fury, expressed through biting humor, against junkerism and the "Yellow Press," wherever they be found.

EDITORIAL IMPRESSIONS

He seemed so certain "all was going well,"
As he discussed the glorious time he'd had
While visiting the trenches.
"One can tell
You've gathered big impressions!" grinned the lad
Who'd been severely wounded in the back
In some wiped-out impossible Attack.
"Impressions? Yes, most vivid! I am writing
A little book called Europe on the Rack,
Based on notes made while witnessing the fighting.
I hope I've caught the feeling of 'the Line,'
And the amazing spirit of the troops.
By Jove, those flying-chaps of ours are fine!
I watched one daring beggar looping loops,
Soaring and diving like some bird of prey.
And through it all I felt that splendor shine
Which makes us win."
The soldier sipped his wine.
"Ah, yes, but it's the Press that leads the way!"

The predominant note of the book is tensely ironical, voiced consummately in Survivors:

No doubt they'll soon get well; the shock and strain
Have caused their stammering, disconnected talk.
Of course they're "longing to go out again"—
These boys with old, scarred faces, learning to walk.
They'll soon forget their haunted nights; their cowed
Subjection to the ghosts of friends who died—
Their dreams that drip with murder; and they'll be proud
Of glorious war that shatter'd all their pride . . .
Men who went out to battle, grim and glad;
Children, with eyes that hate you, broken and mad.

But there is another side—showing Sassoon to be the idealist, the mystic who is saved from complete pessimism by his appreciation of beauty and his faith in its healing power. It is amazing that the variety of mood in Sassoon's work as a whole and its almost incredible contrasts emanate from one and the same poet. It is because he has been in the depths of despair that visions of beauty when they come to him are not only hailed in lilting ecstatic song, but are

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to him the means of escape from "the foul beast of war that bludgeons life."

THRUSHES

Tossed on the glittering air they soar and skim,
Whose voices make the emptiness of light
A windy palace. Quavering from the brim
Of dawn, and bold with song at edge of night,
They clutch their leafy pinnacles and sing
Scornful of man, and from his toils aloof
Whose heart's a haunted woodland whispering;
Whose thoughts return on tempest-baffled wing;
Who hears the cry of God in everything,
And storms the gate of nothingness for proof.

It is in Invocation, however, that we find the fullest expression of his craving for beauty with the peace which it alone can give:

Come down from heaven to meet me when my breath
Chokes, and through drumming shafts of stifling death
I stumble toward escape, to find the door
Opening on morn where I may breathe once more
Clear cock-crow airs across some valley dim
With whispering trees. While dawn along the rim
Of night's horizon flows in lakes of fire,
Come down from heaven's bright hill, my song's desire.

Belov'd and faithful, teach my soul to wake
In glades deep-ranked with flowers that gleam and shake
And flock your paths with wonder. In your gaze
Show me the vanquished vigil of my days.
Mute in that golden silence hung with green,
Come down from heaven and bring me in your eyes
Remembrance of all beauty that has been,
And stillness from the pools of Paradise.

It is then to be hoped and expected that he will come into his own after the war, and that his great gift which is now finding expression in the most trenchant of irony, may be devoted entirely to the praise of beauty—and as he has shown himself already to be one of the most original and powerful of the poets of our time, we are confident he will rise to even greater distinction when his powers are expressed in this, his native element. And when he cries, "O music in my brain, when will you sound again"—we answer "when these racking years and shaking emotion are over"—and we only hope that he may pass through them successfully so that in the end there may be clear and happy song, or if not that exactly, then the calm of the wisdom that sorrows bring.

LEWIS CHASE.

Freedom

Freedom, by Gilbert Cannan. New York: F. A. Stokes Company. $1.

IN a perspiration of generous excitement Mr. Cannan has rediscovered the principles of that Roman form of Stoicism which, through Seneca and the Corpus Juris, provided the early Christians with their philosophy. He preaches, that is to say, the unmeaning character of external things. Life is within oneself, and the only actions of any value are those determined by the individual conscience. Minorities are usually in the right; for the opinion of the average man expresses the lower rather than the better level of human intelligence. No government can compel me to obey unless acceptance of its command secures my consent. The state is nothing more than the community regarded in a particular aspect; and, for the man who has attained the perspective of things, it is inadequate simply because, like Pistol, he will then see that only the world can be his oyster. The world is dominated by the average man with the result that what finds expression in its rules and precepts stunts the soul and degrades the intelligence. It is a world so shackled by its worship of a false discipline that individuality is stifled in the birth. We have become the slaves of expedient custom; and we cannot win back our way to freedom until we renounce the path of coercion. Governments must regard the attainment of freedom as their highest end; and they will not achieve it until they break down the barriers, whether social, or political, or economic, that stand in the way of that principle of consent which can be based alone upon the equality of men.

Mr. Cannan would probably admit that what he has written is rather a rhapsody than a protest, and that in an age when we can have a rhapsody for nothing at any meeting of the National Security League. No problem is ever as simple as its political solution would seem to suggest. The idea of liberty has its own special history; and nothing is more fatal to its adequate analysis than an attempt to bind it to an unchanging content. For each age has problems peculiar to itself; and the meaning of liberty is the answer it makes to those problems. Political freedom was vital to the England of the nineteenth century simply because in that especial atmosphere the overthrow of the landed aristocracy seemed the most essential progress that was needed; but to talk of freedom, in a political sense, to the England of our own day is to miss the substance of what is most ardently desired by the mass of men.

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Mr. Cannan would probably retort that he is less occupied with the external realizations of freedom than with its inner meaning for each one of us. Yet even here he has failed to grasp the ramifications of the problem. The divisions he attempts are meaningless so long as we retain firmly in our minds the fact that man is a social animal. Everyone will admit that the very notion of society involves the existence of constraint: the average man cannot be left free gaily to assassinate his neighbor at will. The root of the matter lies in the discovery of how we can minimize the constraints that are necessary. Most of us can see that it is desirable to leave unchecked a man's freedom of utterance; the real question is the search for that point where the privilege becomes abused. No one thinks of permanently censoring the press; but a press that persistently lies about the conditions and prospects of Russia makes even the most liberal of us inclined, at moments, to probe thoroughly the roots of freedom. In such a matter it is well to see how the perspective of freedom may change while its content, as a problem, remains identical. A hundred years ago, freedom of the press meant the right to preach one's faith in the face of governmental opposition. Today the attempt is to free the newspaper from the control implied in an elaborate network of subsidization. It is not, to say the least, clear that a man is less free when his fear is of governmental suppression than when his livelihood depends upon being able to agree with the opinions of Lord Northcliffe.

Mr. Cannan is undoubtedly right in his implied insistence that it is the main business of a man to contribute what of value his personality can offer to society. In that aspect we have at least a negative theory of freedom. For we can then without difficulty say that the absence or presence of certain things prevents the full expression of that personality. It is obvious enough that the dweller in an East Side slum who is physically stunted by heavy and ill-paid work is in a vital sense unfree. The material basis of personality is destroyed without a minimum basis of civilization as its accompaniment. In that aspect, as Mr. Graham Wallas has said, freedom is the possibility of continuous initiative. But, after all, we must inquire into the purposes for which this initiative is used. Clearly the development of the last two centuries is an attempt at its protection in so far as it has tried to secure freedom of conscience. The very uneasiness that most of us have felt in relation to the conscientious objectors stands out in striking fashion to the grim way in which medieval society allowed its heretics to be burned. But at what point is respect of conscience to stop? Are we to respect a self-made millionaire who refuses to pay his income tax because his conscience objects to a state provision of education? Probably examination would show that in most things where conscience has managed to secure state recognition its area lies in that borderland over which the state and churches quarrelled in past years. But there is logically no reason in the world why we should refuse to admit that the conscience of an atheist may be outraged by a governmental demand totally unconnected with any religious question. Mr. Cannan would doubtless make respect of conscience universal; and there is much to be said for his standpoint. Probably no man will so vehemently oppose the state as to suffer persecution for his views without being either clearly mad or so obviously worthy of respect as to make imprisonment a human impossibility. Such a view is, of course, a recognition that an element of anarchy inheres in the very idea of social organization. But there is assuredly no reason why we should not admit the facts.

In any case, it is clear enough that to preach the duty of obedience is to barter away our freedom. What each of us owes the state is the best judgment of our instructed mind and to offer less is to betray it. We would honor John Huss less if he had made submission to the Council of Constance than we do because he defied it. The classic example of 1776 is not likely to be viewed with regret outside the peerage-seeking families of New York; but it is no more than an insistence that when oppression becomes too heavy to be borne resistance will be made for conscience's sake even by sober and conservative minds like Washington and Hamilton. It is, perhaps, an antimony that governments should feel compelled to suppress what it is a civic duty to attempt; but it is none the less an antimony the facts compel us to recognize. For so long as man has an element of the solitary in his nature he will deny the superiority of the social bond at every crisis of his personal development where his conscience urges him to resistance. Luther's Ich kann nicht anders is, in fact, the preservative against stagnation.

But, this, after all, is the marginal problem; though the experience of the war has made Mr. Cannan regard it as the central issue. The real thing to be examined is those elements of human nature which must be satisfied before personality is provided with the means of its expression. Mr. Cannan sees the importance of certain mental freedoms; but it is, on the whole, not worth while to say that the slave is not a slave while he has freedom in his heart any more than it is true to insist that a man possesses all the world where there is complete community of goods. Upon this problem we possess little save hints and guesses. The largest question that confronts the philosopher is the definition of the terms in which it may best be answered.

H. J. L.

The War as Excess Baggage

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, from the Spanish of Vicente Blasco Ibañez. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.90.

UNLESS anchored heavily by critical egotism the reader of Jude the Obscure, Conrad's Victory, or Hudson's Green Mansions finds himself lifted by driving elemental storms, beaten and bruised by a bitter and stinging sea, and cast at last on an alien solitary land whence he looks back in wonder at the irrelevant and unreal life he lived. It is a test of great fiction that it should displace for a time the earth and sky our senses reveal to us and put in their place the moods and ways and seasons of another environment. The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse does this for us briefly in the early South American chapters, but with the transplantation of the Desnoyers family into France the spell is broken, and we know that we have before us—another war book. For the men and women who lived so healthily on their native pampas become, when the German dam breaks over France, mere painted fragments of shingle among the driftwood of a great river. The personalities we had begun to appreciate deteriorate without transition into types upon which Ibañez may hang typical instances of French heroism and German brutality.

If it is possible to differentiate between literature and journalism, blood-brothers and boon-companions in war and peace, The Four Horsemen furnishes a clue to their confused identities. What importance the main portion of the book may have is lent the composition by the magnitude of

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events treated; the earlier subordinate and obviously unimportant happenings on an obscure ranch in Argentina are flushed with life and firm as material existence because the art of the author was equal to the task of furnishing to this scene the adequate and fitting word. In reporting the war he is a journalist, overwhelmed by his task; in portraying Don Madariaga, despot, philanthropist and centaur of the cattle-plains, he touches the canvas with slow and loving strokes—making out of this minor figure the only developed character in the narrative. In journalism events give weight to words, in literature words rescue events from oblivion. And because this greatest of all wars transcends human imagination it may be that it is and will remain unworkable stuff for artists. Perhaps Ibañez has done as well as any romancer in our generation may hope to do. In so far as he has failed there is no blaming the translator, for where the original is aflame its fire has melted and fused the resistant medium.

The effective presentation of pageant life, of crowds and communities in flux, is at once the strength of the moving picture—almost its only strength—and the absolute weakness of the novel. In The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse a slight and anaemic plot staggers with the immense luggage of a war that could not long be borne by Atlas himself. In the nature of things it cannot go far. M. A.

Many Mansions, by Sarah Warder MacConnell. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.50.

EVEN in happy circumstances the childhood of imaginative, intense natures is a checkered thing, not the roseate "olden golden glory" which sentimental retrospection loves to call it. The emotional precocity of high-strung children leaves effects not obliterated as tears over broken toys are wiped away. Many Mansions is a vivid projection of this sort of demanding temperament which pays its toll in childhood and later. The difficulties of her earliest years rendered Perdita Hardwick the more sensitive in maturity. She could never learn to take life easy, never mastered the trick of compromise, could not even temper disillusion with humor. "It doesn't pay to have expectations the size of yours," says one of her friends, "you've got to face what happens to most of us." Sound advice—and perfectly useless—to creatures like Perdita. The book is written with a fine, free, impetuous style curiously suited to the passionate aspiring of its chief character. One passage toward the close of part two is characteristic in insight. The disastrous parting interview between Kildare and Perdita reveals with amazing skill the tendency of mutual passion, under a strain, to create misunderstanding, to cause disseverance and friction by its very aching impulse to fuse. The situation could have been made convincing only by subtle dexterity. In this balance of motives and reactions, Sarah Warder MacConnell has accomplished no mean task.

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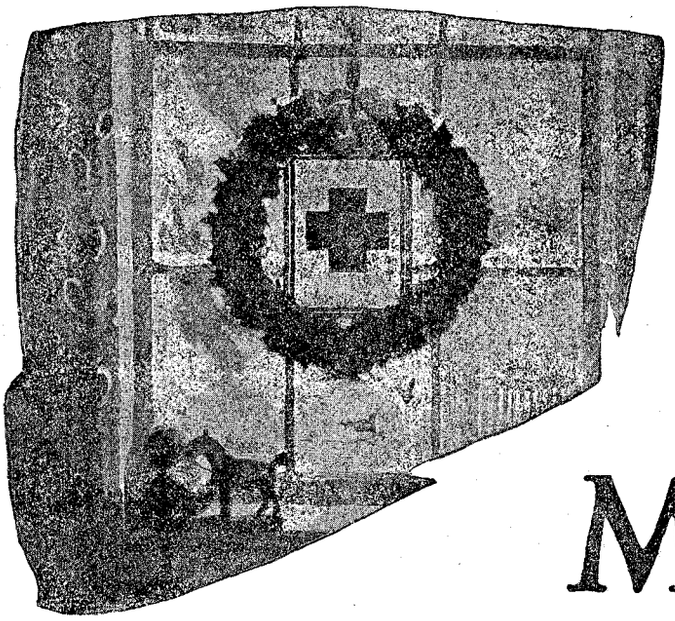

Mother

I USED to be a little bit ashamed of the way I felt about Mother. I loved her, of course—loved her with all the love that could be crowded into a boy's heart—but I hated to show it. Only girls and babies, I thought, showed affection. It wasn't "manly" for a boy to be petted—especially if there was someone around to see.

I used to go to Mother when I had cut my finger or had some childish grief or woe and she would bind up the wound in my finger and my heart and drive away all the pain and sorrow in some strange, mysterious way that only mothers know about.

Then she'd put her arm around me and smoothe my hair—but I'd pull away and swagger out, whistling loudly, and play with my dog.

But at nights when I'd gone tired to bed I'd think about Mother.

And always she appeared in a sort of soft light with a smile of understanding. To myself, I called her "The Greatest Mother in the World."

* * * *

The other day I saw a Red Cross Poster—a white clad nurse with a wounded soldier in her arms; they called it "The Greatest Mother in the World."

It brought a jealous little tug to my heart when I saw it. I resented the use of that title for a Red Cross Poster. It was my name for Mother.

I closed my eyes for a moment and a vision of Mother came to me. The same soft light and tender smile. And when I looked up at the poster again I understood.

I felt that the Red Cross had the right to use that title, "The Greatest Mother in the World."

For I realized that the spirit of my Mother—and yours—was behind that big organization—binding up cut fingers for little boys who have grown up and aren't really little boys any longer.

And that's the reason I'm going to answer "Present!" at the

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